NATIONAL REVIEW

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June 29, 1957

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

The Weakening NATO Shield

MAJ. GEN. CHARLES A. WILLOUGHBY

Academic Narcissism

LEOPOLD KOHR

The Paradox of Soviet Science

JOHN F. KILEY

Articles and Reviews by ·····E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN · JAMES BURNHAM · WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

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For the Record

AFL-CIO officials are seriously worried over the boycott by the Sheet Metal Workers Union (an AFL craft union) against the Burt Manufacturing Company of Akron, which has recognized the United Steel Workers (CIO) since 1945. The unauthorized boycott has cost Burt $5 million and cut employment in the plant by two-thirds....In Sharon, Pennsylvania, Westinghouse officials sent 1,500 workers home on "disciplinary furloughs" for reporting to work late after a rally by the International Union of Electrical Workers.

Senator Fulbright again is urging talks on the recognition of Red China because "it is quite possible that Mao Tse-tung will become another Tito."...Senator Magnuson believes U.S. airlines should start passenger and mail service to Communist China as a step toward relaxing trade barriers.... A Library of Congress report indicates that between 1945 and 1957 the United States gave the Soviet Union and its six European satellites (including Yugoslavia) $1,794 million in aid....A banner in a recent Salt Lake City Deseret News read: "U.S. Signs $48.9 Million Aid Pact to Keep Poland Free."

One item in the $64 million supplementary appropriation President Eisenhower asked Congress to authorize last week is $2.2 million for a U.S. exhibit in Moscow next year....The President has urged Congress to give "high priority" to five economy measures recommended by the Hoover Commission.

A survey of public schools in 17 Southern and border states indicates that since the Supreme Court decision in 1954, 684 out of 3,700 school districts—all but seven of them in border states—have begun or accomplished desegregation....More than 900 tax-relief bills are in the legislative hopper at the moment—but none has a chance of enactment at this session.

The House of Representatives of the American Medical Association voted last week not to ask Congress to include physicians in federal Social Security....The Supreme Court has barred picketing as a union organizing weapon....The High Court also left standing a Virginia speeding conviction based on radar-adduced evidence—on the ground that no substantial federal question was involved.

NATIONAL REVIEW

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The WEEK

● The Supreme Court struts on in its drive to subvert American political institutions. Of the three decisions last week, the boldest, the most impudent, and the most anarchical was that calling for the reversal of the contempt citation against John Watkins. The meaning of that decision is stupefying, for it sets up the Supreme Court as arbiter of the intentions of Congress. Below ("Has Congress Abdicated?") we discuss the apparent abdication of Congress in the face of the irruption of the judiciary.

● Imagine the Supreme Court doing what it just now did to Congress if old Pat McCarran were still around as Chairman of the Judiciary Committee! Very possibly he would have gone across the street and tongue-lashed eight out of nine of the distinguished justices; certainly he would have mobilized Congress, overnight, to fight back and, as was Senator McCarran's way, to win the battle against the forces of judicial subversion. One wonders at the lassitude, these days, of Senator Eastland. What is he saving himself for? The repeal of Jim Crow in Ruleville, Mississippi?

● A silver lining on the Supreme Court's Black Monday a week ago: Judge Hugo Black's majority decision upsetting the conviction by court martial of two American wives contained the sentiment that "the prohibitions of the Constitution were designed to apply to all branches of the National Government and they cannot be nullified by the executive or by the executive and the Senate combined." Senator Bricker sees the ruling as encouraging to those who insist that constitutional rights cannot be abrogated by treaty.

● In the dark ages when men were forced to submit to the hazards of trial by water or fire, the liberal mind hit upon the device of trial by jury. Ever since then the "judgment of one's peers" as expressed by twelve good men and true has been accepted as a more certain guarantee of equity than the decision of a single judge. The civil rights bill which has just been passed by the modern breed of Liberal in the House of Representatives, however, has reversed the trend of at least ten centuries, for it has been sent up to the Senate without a provision for trial by jury for anyone cited for contempt in a civil rights case. As matters stand this is sectional legislation, directed against one part of the country. If the Senate concurs in the judgment of the House, we may shortly be witness to the jailing of Southerners for arguing against integration after a single judge has told them to shut up. The prospects for the House bill are, of course, dubious as long as Southerners in the Senate can avail themselves of the filibuster. Even so, what the House has done is deeply disturbing to anyone who takes the whole historic fabric of the Common Law seriously.

● We are waiting—just sitting here and waiting—for Liberal rhetoric about the Lonely Heroism of the Judiciary in Standing Up under the Tyranny of the Government to catch up with, and engulf, one federal Judge Joseph C. McGarraghy, who has ruled against turning over Sergeant Girard to the Japanese courts.

● The Soviet Union representatives on the Committee on Forced Labor of the International Labor Organization have joined with their colleagues to vote unanimous approval of a world ban on slave labor. We await the impact of the joyous news on Russia and her satellites. In our mind's eye we can see all those Hungarians who were transported last autumn to Russia piling aboard the trains for Budapest and whooping it up as they go down the aisles. We can see the tired miners of the Lena gold fields gratefully dropping their picks and getting ready for the long trek home to Kiev or Samarkand. We can see those youths who were recruited on a "go, or else" basis to farm the desert sands of Kazakhstan saying to hell with it and flagging a bus to Leningrad. No more digging in congealing muck on the tundra because of a chance remark slighting the third secretary of the Party in Tiflis. No more work at fifty below zero in the Arctic because of a slight case of premature anti-Stalinism contracted before Khrushchev's attitude toward the world's greatest patron of forced labor became known. Everyone is to be free again to work as or where he wills. Even in Russia, even in the satellites. Our mind's eye may err, of course. Just in case it does, has anybody got a totally new language we can use? One in which "slave" and "free" aren't synonomous?

● In a continuing pullback from last year's de-Stalinization rhetoric, the Soviet Communist Party has denounced E. N. Burdzhalov and other Soviet historians who, the Party now says, gave an anti-Marxist "liberal interpretation" to Khrushchev's speech, and sought to "blacken Stalin's activities and depict him as an opportunist." Soviet historians

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should use their energy, it is ordered, not slandering Stalin, but exposing "the agressive essence of American imperialism."

● A report by K. T. Mazurov, Communist Party chief in Byelorussia, discloses a catastrophic decline in Byelorussian agriculture. Since 1940, four million acres of farmland have been abandoned in that area, and grain output has declined from 2.7 million to 1.7 million tons. On world free markets the ruble has been dropping steadily since the Hungarian revolt, and is now quoted between two cents and three cents. It is altogether possible that the economically imperative need for at least some relief in the civilian economy is the basis for the scattered Soviet proposals on disarmament.

● What nicer way for the Soviet Union to commemorate the 350th Anniversary of the Jamestown Landing than by publishing a *brand new* history of the United States? The Soviet version, to be sure, hands down historical judgments that carping anti-Communists will deem over-severe. The Virginia settlers, for example, were "bond servants" and "criminals," who responded to the "hospitality of the Indians" with "crafty, mercenary and bestial brutality." They "liquidated" 700,000 of the 1,000,000 Indians originally in the country and herded the remainder into "concentration camp reservations" where living conditions are so poor the "average Indian life expectancy is 20 years." Next, they went hunting for "blackskins" in Africa and enacted such barbaric laws that "even today, 16,000,000 Negroes live in enslaved subjugation to white masters, threatened by the Lynch Court, the electric chair, or the pistol of the police and sheriff." A trifle harsh perhaps, the Soviet anniversary gift; but surely, it's the thought that counts, isn't it?

● President Eisenhower made it quite clear at a recent news conference that just as he cannot control the movements of the seas, so he cannot control trading with Communist China; so, therefore, he will support a resumption of trade with Communist China if it comes to that. He had never, he said, seen "much advantage in maintaining" special economic sanctions against the Chinese mainland. Besides, we "are going to have either just authorized trade, or [we] are going to have clandestine trade." The President stoutly assured the nation that as long as the restrictions are on the books, they will be enforced, impossible though that may be. The President has given aid and comfort to violators of the law and, of course, to the enemy.

● As a successfully rebellious former colony, a Negro republic and a triumph of the ideology of self-government, Haiti has long enjoyed immunity from any critical notice in the American press. But now Haiti has relapsed into a state of anarchic terrorism. Assassinations, mayhem, lynchings and arson are filling the streets with bodies, blood and ruins. One wonders what the Liberal observers who have made little mention of these events would be writing if they were occurring in the other half of the island of Santo Domingo, which is occupied by Trujillo's Dominican Republic.

● Vice President Richard Nixon continues feverishly to endorse the President's foreign policy. Addressing the graduates of Michigan State, he even undertook to defend the $95 million loan to Poland. Poland, he conceded, is a "Communist country" but the "Polish people have been displaying increasing evidence of their determination to follow a course independent of the Soviet Union" and, "In response to that popular sentiment" the government has softened the "features of Communism that do the most violence to human nature." Mr. Nixon did not explain how the money will reach the people (who hate Communism) instead of the government (which loves Communism) nor did he express anxiety that the money might reconcile the people to their masters by lessening the economic hardships imposed by a Communist regime. It is good to know that the Vice President has not yet been taken in by his own rhetoric.

● EVEN NATIONAL REVIEW can be pushed just so far. Though we abhor as much as anyone the scurrilous invasion of privacy and the slanderous intent of *Confidential* and its siblings, we have hitherto, out of an instinctive respect for the freedom of the press, kept aloof from the raging controversy. But over the week-end, we heard a TV commercial ask, "Do you want to know the *real* reason Lassie is losing her master? Read *Magazine X*, out Friday!"—and our blood chilled, although the temperature was in the eighties. How far can we go in this peephole era? It is bad enough when human beings are stripped and flayed in the public prints—but when it comes to dogs, we cry, Cur!

● The following item appears in a new catalogue of long-playing records: "CONQUEST OF LOVE—The Voice of Mahatma Gandhi (in English) with Albert Einstein and Jawaharlal Nehru. Narration by Krishna Menon. Written Commentary by Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt . . . . $2.49 Sale Price." Why not a successor album? Entitled, "ARMING AGAINST THE CONQUEST OF LOVE" and featuring the Voices (in English) of the leaders of Portuguese Macao, Kashmir and Pakistan. Narration by King Hussein. Written Commentary by Chiang Kai-shek.

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Has Congress Abdicated?

By its recent decision the Supreme Court seems to be trying to bring to a head the long-brewing constitutional crisis. But the Court's provocations fall with hardly a splash in the weedy pool of public opinion. If the American people and their representative institutions will passively accept *Brown v. Board of Education,* they apparently will accept anything.

Let us divorce our concern from the content of the various issues that have been before the Court. The constitutional crisis is independent of our moral views about the specific rights and wrongs of racial segregation, John Watkins' silence, Steve Nelson's politics, Max Shachtman's passport, or John Stewart Service's firing. What is at stake in the crisis is the integrity of our traditional system of government —that is, our traditional method of reaching political decisions.

The Court hardly bothers to hide what it is doing. It is sitting no longer as a judicial bench but as the nation's supreme legislature, unmaking *and making* the nation's laws, often in arrogant disregard of the explicit words and recorded intentions of the constitutionally designated legislative body. In some of its decisions the Court asserts a supreme executive power as well, and does not hesitate to instruct the President how to carry out what it declares to be the law, and how to administer his departments and agencies. As for the states, the present Court hardly recognizes them as more than administrative divisions of the central government.

Not only is the Court destroying that diffusion of sovereignty, that equilibrium of powers that the Fathers wrote into our system of government as the bulwark of liberty. By smashing the barriers between public and private life, the Court is also rapidly eroding the idea of *limited government* that has traditionally guarded us from what is nowadays called "totalitarianism." Few phases of the nation's life are now immune from the Court's intervention. It reaches into our schools, our recreation, our smallest business enterprise, our entertainment, our hospitals and churches.

Why has the Court been allowed to get away with this usurpation? This is the central mystery. There is nothing in the Constitution or our history on which the Court can base its behavior. There is no truth in the modern myth that the Supreme Court has always been the one, final, supreme constitutional authority. Throughout the nineteenth century the great constitutional decisions were hammered out in Congress primarily, in contests between the Executive and Congress—and on the battlefield. In the nation's first hundred years, the Court only twice even tried to declare the unconstitutionality of a federal law—and one of these two pronouncements was the Dred Scott decision. Before 1857 Congress itself handled its own recalcitrant witnesses in its own way, with the Sergeant-at-Arms bringing them into the Senate or House Chamber and, if found in contempt, clapping them into "the common jail" without reference to any court or court order. It was Congress that had been given the duty of making the country's laws; and it was not for the Court to tell it how that duty was to be performed.

For countering the Court's revolutionary usurpations, there are ample means at hand. Often (as in the Steve Nelson decision "superseding" all state laws on subversion) all that is needed is a simple law to clarify congressional intention. And if necessary, sterner remedies are available. Except for a few rules about special high-seas, ambassadorial and similar jurisdictions, the Constitution provides only that "The judicial Power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time establish." All else—the kinds and numbers and pay and regulations and duties and limits—of federal courts and judges is established (and revocable) by statute, duly enacted by Congress. Congress may always, if it has the will to do so, curb an unbridled Judiciary.

Has Congress, then, abdicated? This, rather than the Court's current usurpations, is the primary issue of the mounting constitutional crisis. There are conflicts between the court and the Executive, but these are mostly shadow-boxing, since the Executive and the Court are pursuing in general the same collectivist, egalitarian and globalist course. This is the course charted by the Liberal Establishment, which for a generation has to a varying but always major degree controlled the Executive, and now—thanks, with delicious irony, to the Eisenhower "Republican" appointments—has captured the Court. The New Dealers Frankfurter and Clark are now the Court's extreme right wing, facing a majority controlled by a solid left phalanx in which Eisenhower's Warren and Brennan fuse with Black and Douglas.

From the Executive, therefore, though it may try to preserve its administrative prerogatives, no serious resistance to the Court's main political line can be expected. Within the structure of the federal government, Congress is the last defense of our traditional system; that is, of our political liberty. But Congress has remained inert under the Court's bold, persistent blows. And more: as it fails to react to these latest juridical outrages, Congress simultaneously surrenders abjectly to the Executive also—at the critical points of global policy about which there had been such loud talk of resistance: the International Atomic Energy Agency, and Foreign Aid.

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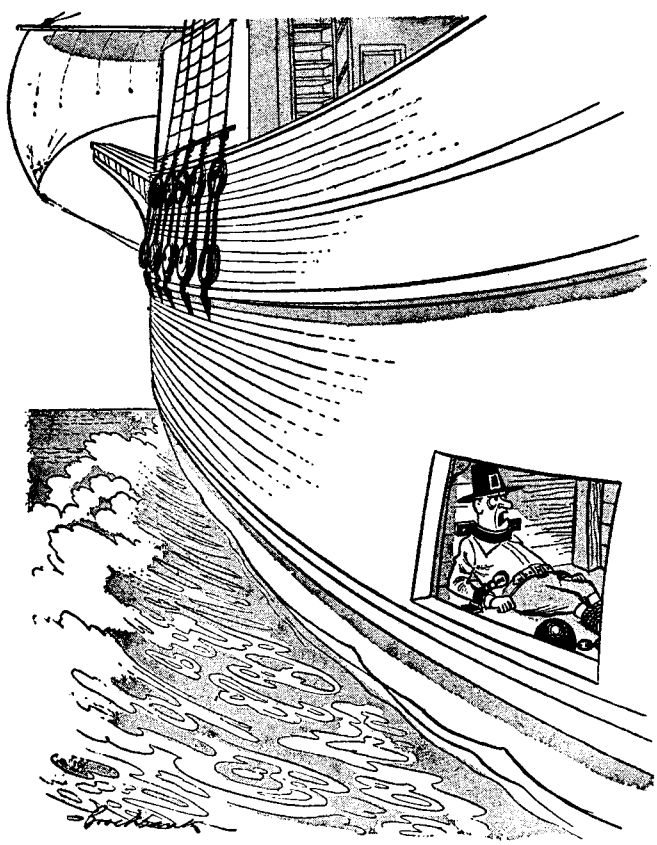
Is Congress then content to take the American road, long marked for it, that leads, like so many other converging national roads in our century—as in Russia, Italy, Germany, Czechoslovakia—to the parliamentary castration chamber? By all observed signs the Liberals have not yet captured Congress. But have they succeeded in paralyzing the congressional will to survive?

Subversion and Ignorance

The Supreme Court has ruled that the Secretary of State did not have the power, in 1951, to overrule his own Under Secretary of State in dismissing John Stewart Service as a security risk (which he did following an adverse ruling against Service by the Civil Service Commission's Loyalty Review Board). Thus the Court, developing its precedent in the case of Dr. John Peters, in effect fastens on the administration of internal security judicial prohibitions against double jeopardy. John Stewart Service was several times haled before loyalty security boards and several times—during a period (1948-1949) when the State Department resolutely refused to find *anyone* (except a Trotskyite!) a security risk—cleared. Anti-subversion pressure finally mounted beyond even the power of Dean Acheson to withstand. Thus it was he, *mirabile dictu,* who finally told Service he would have to go and who is now reprimanded by the Supreme Court for McCarthyite tendencies.



"Wait till the Seamen's Union hears about this."

(Reprinted by permission of the proprietors of Punch)

In the abstract legal argumentation, the record of JSS, and hence the commonsense question whether he should or should not have been dismissed as a security risk, tends to get lost. It is not a record that is easy to compress.

Service first won intra-government notoriety as a foreign service officer stationed in China, by writing impassioned memoranda urging the virtues of the Chinese Communists and the iniquities of the Kuomintang, contributing to our understanding of the ferment in China such sentiments as: "Politically, any orientation which the Chinese Communists may once have had toward the Soviet Union seems to be a thing of the past" (1944); "[The Communists] are carrying out democratic policies which they expect the United States to approve and sympathetically support"; and "There may be a period of some confusion, but the eventual gains of the Kuomintang's collapse will more than make up for this . . ."

In June of 1945, John Stewart Service, back in this country, was arrested by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation for having turned over to editors of the Communist magazine *Amerasia* highly secret State Department documents. In the general *Amerasia* whitewash, Service was let off by the court on the grounds that, just as when he wrote from China, he did not really know what he was doing. One wishes the Supreme Court's decisions could be set aside on such grounds.

Their Own Petard

The Supreme Court has told Congress the following: If you interrogate a witness on subjects not demonstrably connected with the matter immediately at hand, which matter must be immediately related or relatable to an explicit legislative purpose, that witness may refuse, with impunity, to cooperate.

Critics of the Court's action have pointed out that, had that ruling been in effect say in the twenties, the investigation of the Teapot Dome scandal could not have been held. It would not have been possible to question Alger Hiss in the way he was questioned. And certainly the investigation of the Institute of Pacific Relations could not have gone forward. So difficult has the Supreme Court made it for a congressional committee to demonstrate the validity of its questions that it is even being argued that the only way a committee can make certain that a question is legitimate, and an answer to it therefore enforceable, is to go in each questionable instance to a court to seek out, so to speak, a license for that particular question. A neater way to put it, it would

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seem, is to say that the Supreme Court has denied Congress its historic privilege to investigate.

Those who today hail the decision may be chewing their fingernails in exasperation in days to come, when Congress is cheeked by a du Pont executive, a conservative editor, or, God save us, an anti-integrationist. Already, in the past two weeks, the federal government has had to drop cases against tax evaders and narcotics peddlers due to the Supreme Court's ruling in the Jencks case on the availability of the FBI testimony. One wonders how long before the ramifications of the Watkins decision will horrify its authors.

The Disarmament Swamp

When the President first disclosed his "Open Skies Inspection Plan," doubters were quieted with the argument: "Well, even if nothing comes of it, we have won a propaganda victory by taking the initiative on the disarmament front." Last week, having already given up everything else, Harold Stassen completed his job by tossing into the diplomatic garbage can *both* the Open Skies *and* the initiative. He announced that the United States is ready to bow to Soviet wishes, and to accept Moscow's carefully loaded proposal for a suspension of tests of nuclear weapons. That is, Mr. Stassen conceded, or rather made, a major propaganda victory for the Soviets, even if no practical results come from the London negotiations.

That this is the meaning and effect of Mr. Stassen's capitulation was coarsely foreshadowed by Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, leader of the British Labor Party. On June 15, Prime Minister Harold Macmillan had informed Moscow why the Soviet proposal was *not* acceptable to Britain. The next day Mr. Gaitskell, in what would once have been judged an act of disloyalty to his country, publicly denounced his government's official statement and demanded British acceptance of the Soviet terms.

The Prime Minister—who of course cannot stand out against the pressure of both Washington and his domestic opposition—had included in his statement the real key to the disarmament problem: for a nation that has not lost its senses, disarmament is out of the question without "settlements in the political field." Our Administration, standing the problem on its head, seems to think that it will have a better chance at favorable "political settlements" by first discarding the West's most powerful, and only decisive, card: its superiority in armament and in armament development. Can Mr. Eisenhower really believe that Khrushchev will be easier to deal with when, by a suspension of development that would be real on our side and phony on his, he has brought his nuclear weapons up to our level?

Front Bulletin

The first rally held by the American Forum for Socialist Education in New York City had only a large audience to distinguish it. Well over four hundred people turned up at the Community Church (The *Daily Worker,* in a classic Freudian slip, referred to it as the "Communist Church") to hear speeches by pacifist fellow-travelers A. J. Muste and Stringfellow Barr, by Miss Dorothy Day (editor of the anarchist *Catholic Worker*), and Conrad Lynn.

The speeches, wholly conventional, failed to rouse the listeners, many of whom had, no doubt, heard pretty much the same thing at other such meetings, in the forties especially. Conrad Lynn expressed his joy that Khrushchev's television appearance showed him to be a human being susceptible to reason; Dorothy Day advised humanitarians (only humanitarians and a NATIONAL REVIEW reporter were present) not to pay their taxes until nuclear tests are suspended; Dr. Barr methodically checked in on the progressive side of all current Liberal tenets.

When, finally, the Reverend Mr. Muste led the procession of Communists (Alfred Blumberg, Doxey Wilkerson) and Socialists to the platform, there was desultory applause. Only when he spoke of the "political inquisition which [Eastland] and his subcommittee" planned against "this innocent enterprise" did the crowd perk up.

Mr. Muste undertook to set the Progressive (or redeemable) critics of the American Forum straight. During the reign of Stalin, he conceded, those who believed that one "cannot engage in discussion with Communists" were right. But to continue to think this after the examples of Poland and Hungary is, said Mr. Muste, to fly "in the face of all the evidence."

Which, of course, is what the American Forum was founded to do—among many other things.

Soil Bankruptcy

Economy is only one reason why Congress is dragging its heels on the Administration's Soil Bank program. The fact is the program is not panning out.

The Soil Bank was sponsored last year by the Republican Administration, as a desperate expedient to a) reduce farm surpluses without b) reducing the size of the farm vote. The Program called for paying the farmer *not* to raise a particular crop, an end to be achieved by taking acreage out of production. This, the planners reasoned, would result in a smaller harvest, and a smaller annual surplus. With production more or less stabilized, the government would then dispose of its residual surplus food stocks through barter and gift to the needy nations of the world. So the theory went.

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It did not reckon with American ingenuity.

Consider a county in central Minnesota, that we happen to know a little about. Soil Bank officials decreed early last summer that a farmer would, in that area, be paid bonuses for *not* growing corn. He would not be paid for not growing wheat or soy beans or rye or oats or buckwheat, which happen to be the area's major crops. His central activity, accordingly, became the non-growing of corn.

Within hours, every plow in the county was out, turning up fallow fields and pasture lands to get in a quickie corn crop, so that, in 1957, the land could profitably be turned *back* into fallow fields and pastures to certify the farmers as having "withdrawn" corn acreage. Federal payments were made in advance (it was an election year, after all) and the extra money went into more fertilizer and better equipment; with the result that Minnesota farmers turned out bumper wheat and soy bean crops for which, of course, they were getting payments from that other division of federal concern for the farmers, the Parity Program.

And so it went around the nation. Zeroing in on the wheat surplus, Secretary Benson has paid out $230,000,000 to farmers *not* to grow wheat. Notwithstanding, the wheat harvest is expected to be every bit as large as last year's; for the farmer, having collected his money for taking acreage out of production, has substantially increased the per acre yield of wheat by more intensive fertilization, closer sowing, and other advanced techniques. And so the surplus will go up again.

Will Congress put an end to this foolishness? Not, presumably, so long as the case against the Soil Bank is merely that it costs a billion or so and *adds* to the surplus. Those are small sacrifices for a mighty nation to pay for keeping its farmers purring.

Kohler Quiz

Mr. Herbert Kohler, President of the embattled Kohler Company, which has been struck longer than any company in American history, recently answered questions posed by members of the Economics Club in Detroit. *What use have you made of mediation and conciliation?* "We have had 55 meetings with government conciliators . . . We were with the union 225 hours." *Is it true that Kohler has bought weapons to use on strikers?* "I can say this: anybody who tries to invade our plant is looking for trouble (applause). I think you remember Kalamazoo, where they knocked out the guards and made a shambles of that little plant." *If the strike were to end would you take strikers back?* "Any man that has not engaged in violence we take back without discrimination . . . [but] we will not release anyone who is on the payroll to make room for a striker." *What has this strike cost the CIO and the Kohler Company?* "The CIO has . . . spent over 11 million dollars. The Kohler Company . . . [was] in the black in 1954, made a satisfactory profit in 1955 and . . . in 1956."

Mr. Kohler, whose company has been strike-bound for 37 months during which 800 acts of vandalism have been committeed by the UAW, assured the Economics Club that his Company would never "buy peace by rewarding lawlessness."

Our contributors: MAJ. GEN. CHARLES A. WILLOUGHBY ("The Weakening NATO Shield") will be remembered for his "Mid-European Buffer Zone: A Soviet Trap" (April 13). . . . LEOPOLD KOHR ("Academic Narcissism") is a professor in the School of Public Administration, College of Social Sciences, University of Puerto Rico. He is the author of a forthcoming book, *The Breakdown of Nations*, to be published by Rinehart and Company. . . . JOHN F. KILEY ("The Paradox of Soviet Science") is assistant professor of philosophy, St. John's College.

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The Weakening NATO Shield

General Willoughby, with expert bluntness, lays bare the pernicious weakness of NATO's military establishment. The answer: shrewd mobilization of Europe's manpower

CHARLES A. WILLOUGHBY

Interwoven in the fatal pattern of Communist strength throughout the world is the apathy of Europe and the statistical decline of NATO.

The U.S. has attempted to counter this threat by various schemes of financial and economic aid, at an estimated cost since 1945 of some $50 billion. Ambassador Spruille Braden recently equated this astronomical figure with "the combined real estate assessment of our fifty largest cities." We do things the big way—even to cutting our own economic throats!

A study of the European situation, however, indicates that net results are not commensurate with these enormous expenditures. In his final report on NATO, General Eisenhower admitted that "there is no real security yet achieved in Europe; there is only a beginning." That was around 1952. The degree of progressive deterioration since then becomes shockingly evident if one compares the current military effort of Western Europe with its effort between World Wars I and II.

These nations were politically and administratively geared to universal military service. Annual conscription was accepted as a civic and patriotic duty. The European peoples were accustomed to maintain huge standing armies. Today, they seem unwilling or unable to produce the 50-60 divisions required as an absolute minimum under recent (and precarious) NATO defense schemes. Under the initial concepts of 1951, NATO strength was set at 90 divisions. The hostile factors that then induced the Allies to fix that figure are still present—indeed they are more threatening than ever. If 90 divisions were believed necessary in 1951, there has been no relaxation of Soviet pressures to make them less necessary in 1957. Note the tabulated record of military effort between world wars, in comparison with the present status of NATO. The column for 1928 is important as a yardstick of capacity; that was a normal year under a peace-time budget, and Western Europe was evidently able to turn out and maintain about 118 divisions.

Country	WWI	1928	WWII	1957
Benelux	18	17	20	4.5
U.S.	34	12	79	5
Britain-Canada	89	23	49	5[1]
France	118	30	90	2[2]
Germany	248	10	190	3[3]
Italy	45	28	50	8

1. Britain will reduce progressively to 3 divisions.
2. France has partially withdrawn her divisions for use in Algiers.
3. Germany will increase from 3 to 12 divisions. This may be the turning of the tide, accentuated by the recent designation of General Speidel to command LAND-Cent, the mid-European front.

Allied demobilization after 1945 was a panicky rush job. Only the USSR, the arch-enemy, maintained its armed strength of 175-225 divisions, in spite of its global commitments. As regards NATO (the vaunted "NATO Shield"), the line from Denmark to Switzerland represents about 17.5-19.5 *ready divisions.* This shrunken total is facing 22 Soviet divisions in East Germany; 22 additional Polish and Soviet divisions in Poland; and between 9 and 12 Czech armored units—*i.e.*, a *ready mass* of 56 divisions, while behind it 50 additional divisions are deployed in Eastern Russia, in normal garrisons. The relative speed with which Red reserves can move was demonstrated in the recent invasion of Hungary.

A military ratio of 17-19 Western *vis-à-vis* 56 Soviet divisions represents a suicidal discrepancy by normal, professional standards. A debacle was temporarily held in suspense by the transient atomic superiority of the United States. This precarious situation places a premium on our "fringe" allies—Spain, Greece and Turkey.

Foreign Aid: Product, Unit Cost

Except for the statistical yardstick of a typical budgetary year—*i.e.*, 1928—midway between fratricidal wars, no one really knows the current war capacity of the West although it ought not to be less than its average mobilization record over the last fifty years. In gauging military capacity—*i.e.*, *ready divisions in the NATO Shield*—the picture is distorted by an elusive relationship of cause and effect, economic capacity, the spiral of inflation and the impact of American "mutual aid" grants or credits in the light of their ultimate military results and *the product of this aid—i.e., ready divisions in the NATO Shield.* Utilizing the figures of 1953 aid (in millions) as an average, the results are hardly inspiring.

Country	U.S. Aid	Product in Divisions	Unit Cost
Germany	$1,472	3	$ 500
France	3,100	2	1,600
Britain-Canada	3,585	4.5	900
Italy	1,477	8	200
Benelux	556	4.5	100
Spain[1]	250	11	25
Greece	550	6	90
Turkey	950	8	80

1. Spain is not a member of the UN or NATO but has furnished military bases that are indispensable to Western defense.

Even if we make full allowance for the triple inflation since 1933, the "product" of mutual aid and the

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"unit cost" *per ready division* are totally unsatisfactory. The British now propose an ultimate reduction in their forces from 4.5 to three divisions. The French have already pulled out their best contingents (except two divisions) for use in Algiers: The process of weakening the Shield is accelerating.

Counting the Cost

We observe here a flagrant case of "butter versus guns." The Russians are committed to guns, and there is no butter for their slave population. Our "agonizing reappraisal" must be a readjustment from butter to guns. Here again, the British throw light on the problem: their 1956 defense expenditures of $4 billion, compared to ten times that amount by the United States, were balanced by welfare spending in the same amount.

There is a current attempt to minimize this factual discrepancy by semantic sleight-of-hand; to make it appear innocuous through high-sounding plans for "atomic" or "pentomic" divisions and final reliance on "nuclear weapons" as compensation for further reduction in personnel and conventional units.

There is, of course, bound to be a transformation in weapons, to make use of atomic charges, etc. But this transformation takes place on *both sides of the Iron Curtain;* the West has no monopoly on it. No amount of demagogic ranting will eliminate a single Soviet battalion. The continuous weakness of the West will not induce the Russians to forego their plans for global conquest. They are still rapaciously hanging on to the immense areas and millions of oppressed peoples which Potsdam tossed into their lap.

It is the will to resist that is important. Impoverished Spain has stood the test, fought and vanquished Russian agitators on her own soil in 1936-1939. She is an index of what can be accomplished on a shoestring. She has eleven front-line divisions and can mobilize twice that number in thirty days. The low unit-costs per ready division of Greece, Spain and Turkey are in a category that invites a reappraisal of our foreign aid.

At this moment, we must face the fact that Europe cannot or will not furnish the minimum number of divisions forced by the current Russian menace.

The situation could be partly remedied by calling on the victims of Russian despotism to rally to the cause of NATO and by utilizing the potential manpower within the ranks of millions of expellees who have been driven from their former homes at the point of Soviet bayonets and have both moral and material incentives to fight Soviet aggression.

There are between nine and twelve million such expellees in Western Europe who are willing and able to furnish a reasonable percentage for some military service. Even a modest 5 per cent would produce between 450 and 600 thousand men. Organized into national units, brigades or regiments, they could automatically strengthen the NATO contingents in many ways: as military and semi-military formations on lines of communications; as guards for depots and warehouses; in short, as "infantry," the least expensive and the ultimately indispensable military branch.

If the infantry component of a division is set at five to six thousand men, we have here the makings of 90 to 100 divisions, to bolster the sagging strength of NATO. They would also furnish a grim reminder to the Communist looters that there will be a day of reckoning.

In simplest terms, the global commitments of the United States, in forty-odd world localities, have become too heavy a burden, and it is already evident that the "partners" in these commitments may contribute only an irreducible minimum. Our enormous budget for 1957 accurately reflects this discrepancy; over $40 billion is absorbed by U. S. defense requirements. The silent revolt of the taxpayer, slowly gathering strength, makes it imperative to tackle the monetary aspects of the problem.

It is obvious that the enlistment of European manpower would be cheaper than the maintenance abroad of American infantry, who are grossly overpaid by European standards, and whose comparative affluence creates envy and resentment among European contingents. The largest slice of the American budget is in expensive technical branches: the air-arm and missile projects. In some respects, that feature is repeated in our Allies' forces though it is becoming evident that they can no longer afford both conventional and nuclear armaments. A redistribution of services and fiscal loads may become necessary: Europe to furnish the infantry divisions while the U.S. concentrates on expensive air and nuclear contingents and a proportional Navy. Immediate budget savings of 50-60 per cent would probably result if the American divisions were progressively replaced by expellee-formations. We already have such a situation in Korea and Formosa.

Moves for a "Freedom Corps"

The idea of international brigades is not new. The Russians set the pace long ago and furnished a working model. They recruited Communist brigades in the U.S., France, Italy and Great Britain, to fight in the Spanish Civil War. And in this country, during the past few years, there have been various moves to establish a "freedom corps" in Europe, as follows:

1. *82nd Congress, 1st Session. January 6, 1951*: S 238 was introduced by Senators Lodge, Brewster, Hickenlooper, Ives, Mundt, Hendrickson and Hunt ". . . to provide for the enlistment of aliens in the Army of the United States for service outside the Continental United States in a Volunteer Freedom Corps and for other purposes . . ."

2. *The American Legion. New York National Convention, August 25-28, 1952*: ". . . Resolution No. 596 as provided under the MSA of 1951 . . . provides $100,000,000 to form national military units of escapees from the several Communist-dominated countries. . . . The existence of such national military units would reduce the number of American troops required overseas . . . would strike at the basic weakness of the Communist tyranny, by undermining its hold on the people it has enslaved and cause large numbers in the Communist-dominated armies to have a will to turn against their oppressors and fight for freedom . . ."

3. *The Hon. Charles J. Kersten, M.C.* Amendment to the Mutual Security Act providing for the formation of National Military Units. Sect. 101 (a) Public Law 165. Title 1, Sect. 401 etc., M.S.A. 1954 and 1956: ". . .

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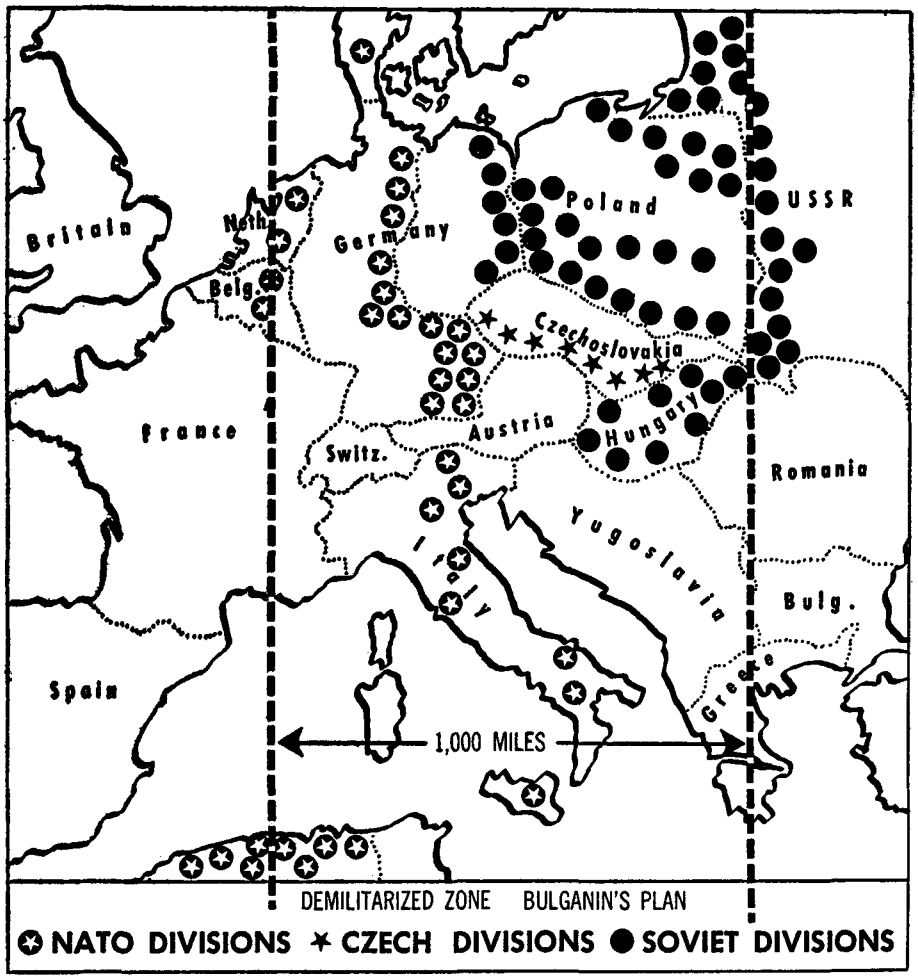

This map shows the approximate location of NATO divisions, *i.e.*, the "Shield," and equivalent Soviet divisions. These are *ready* divisions, available on the spot, triggered for action—except that the American divisions are handicapped by the presence of women and children, as in Korea, representing a burden for protection or removal when the shooting starts. Note that NATO divisions are dispersed. The Greek and Italian divisions, for example, can hardly intervene along the Rhine; they will probably have their hands full along their own frontiers. On the front: Denmark-Switzerland, as of 1957, 17.5 NATO divisions face 56 Soviet divisions, in a ratio of 1:3. We have not ignored the air factor—but that works both ways. An air force can only fly and destroy; it take infantry to hold, administer and rebuild. The infantry division is still the yardstick of comparison in military power: the Russians are leading.

Not to exceed $100,000,000 of the funds available under this section may be expended for any selected persons . . . either to form such persons into elements of the military forces supporting the NATO or for other purposes. . . ."

4. *Memo by Mr. Charles J. Kersten, February 4, 1957,* to the Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees: ". . . The Communist threat to world peace rests in their control over extensive armed forces, together with supporting political police. . . . This control is as yet uncontested by any effective magnetism from the free world. The establishment of national military units will provide the tangible mechanism to activate potential defection from the captive armed forces. . . . Recent massive escapes from Hungary raise the question of resettlement of increasing numbers of refugees from Communist terror. . . . National military units provide a place and a positive purpose for freedom-loving and courageous military defectors. They also foreshadow the means by which captive nations will be free of Communist rule. . . . Such units would provide a symbol for all enslaved people of Central and Eastern Europe. They would be looked upon as manifestations of the legitimate hopes and aspirations of the captive peoples. This would be accomplished by each unit being formed on national lines with identifying flags, chevrons, arm patches, etc. . . ."

5. *Senator Richard B. Russell, February 5, 1957.* Hearings on Senate Joint Resolution 19, Senate Foreign Relations Committee: ". . . . The Senator raised the question why these national military units provided for in the Kersten Amendment have not been brought into being. Why this operation, for which $100,000,000 was allotted (for the sixth consecutive time) has not been implemented while billions of taxpayers' money were spent on less useful projects. . . ."

The discerning Senator probably had in mind a recent Franco-American operation, a highly instructive classic in "abortive" military aid, because the net results were practically nil: the French war in Indo-China.

In money and matériel, Indo-China's cost to Paris was comparatively small. A French spokesman commented on this fact with disarming frankness—perhaps cynicism would be a better term. He coolly admitted that the United States was carrying 78 per cent of the costs of the war: U.S. aid amounted to 490 billion francs while the French provided 156 billions; their contribution was largely to cover the pay of their soldiers in the Far East. Since American dollar credits were all funneled through French fiscal channels, to be converted to francs and piasters, they represented a tremendous leverage toward general stability of currency. The Legionnaires would have to be paid in any event, whether they were in Africa or the Far East.

This brings to mind the thought that these funds might perhaps have been more productive in the organization of expellee-brigades, along the only front that counts in the end: the West European Front.

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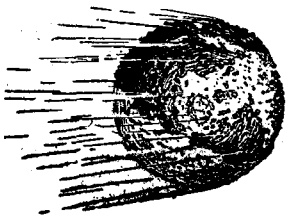

The THIRD WORLD WAR

JAMES BURNHAM

What Is U. S. Foreign Policy?

In May Robert R. Bowie resigned from four years service in George Kennan's old job as chief of the State Department's planning staff. He had been advanced to the formal rank of "Assistant Secretary," a level Kennan did not reach, and had acted as the Departmental representative on the National Security Council Planning Board.

Bowie is typical of the best grade of younger men that the Eisenhower Administration brought into Washington during 1953—men like Chapman Rose in the Treasury, William Rogers in Justice, James Smith in the Pentagon. Bowie, a Princeton graduate on the Harvard Law faculty, was the law official in John McCloy's six-man cabinet that ran the German occupation. He is intelligent, hard-working, civic-minded. And—also like the typical Eisenhower appointee who is in this so unlike the typical Franklin Roosevelt appointee—Bowie is politically unimaginative as well as unideological, content with rather vague, superficial and banal general ideas held with polite rather than passionate conviction.

No conflict or "issue" seems to have been involved in Bowie's resignation. It was just time for him to get back to Harvard after a conscientious tour of duty. On April 27, just before leaving, he addressed the American Society of International Law. Bowie's adaptive, intelligent and disengaged mind, his four years of conditioning within the policy-forming echelons of the Administration, and an occasion that made his speech a kind of farewell address free of bureaucratic consequence—all these circumstances indicate that we can take his words as a direct statement of official thinking.

The Four Pillars

According to Bowie's analysis, U.S. foreign policy is based on a recognition of four "basic factors and trends that are at work in the world."

The first is the growth, strength and stability of the Soviet Union. Bowie judges the annual rate of Soviet economic growth to be 7 per cent, and assumes "that the next decade will show steady Soviet growth, especially in the industrial sector." The Soviet leaders "have had to train and educate their people. They have now developed an industrial society." Therefrom we may expect "changes within the Soviet Union and in its relation to the satellites. But they do not threaten to disrupt the Soviet system or materially to reduce its strength."

The second basic factor is "the revolution in military technology resulting from superweapons." This has "put a tremendous premium on maintaining peace and stable conditions which will not give rise to armed conflict."

The third factor is the "Afro-Asian revolution." The Afro-Asian "countries are determined to improve their economic conditions . . . and if moderate leaders, as in India, are not able to produce results . . . they are almost sure to turn to other radical solutions" and to Communism.

The fourth factor is the relative decline of Europe and Japan in the world power equilibrium.

The Goals of Policy

According to Bowie's statement of the official U. S. view, these four basic factors define the situation that determines the objectives of our foreign policy.

We and "the free world" have five goals or tasks:

First, "to stabilize peace so as to prevent both deliberate and unintended war." To do this, "the aggressor must be convinced that his crime will not pay." He will come to that conclusion if we are "able to retaliate with all-out power, . . . to apply limited force in more selective and flexible ways . . . and to foster in all ways we can the concept of the rule of law and the outlawing of the resort to force in the settlement of disputes."

Second, "we must try to bring armaments, especially nuclear armaments, under some degree of control."

"The third task of the free world is to assist economic growth in the less developed areas. . . . Our fourth objective must be to assist Western Europe and Japan to play a role in the world in keeping with their potentialities." This means to support moves toward European integration, and "to allow Japan to sell its products within the free world."

Finally, "we must do what we can to foster the evolution of the Communist states toward a more liberal pattern." What we can do in this respect, however, "let us not overestimate." We can increase "exchanges of information and of people." And "we can at all times make it clear that the free world does not threaten Soviet national interests. . . . The Soviet Union should be made aware that it would have a secure national life in a world of independent states if it is prepared to forego expansionist goals." (It must be puzzling to the leaders of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics—a political structure composed of several dozen distinct nations—to read State Department references to "*a* Soviet nation" and "Soviet *national* interests.") As for the satellites, "our aim should not be violent revolution but the steady growth of greater independence of the Soviet Union. And again we can assure the Soviets that . . . the free world will not seek to create hostile neighbors along its borders."

That is the authoritative summary, then, of U. S. foreign policy, and it may be added that what the State Department has been doing for the past several years is in general consistent with Bowie's formulations.

It must prompt George Kennan to a wry smile as he reflects that those who dismissed him as the Gray Eminence of Acheson-appeasement have in four years failed to come up with anything more than a softened, vulgarized and dispirited version of his own Policy of Containment.

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Academic Narcissism

Modern universities, says a professor, are so busy pleasing the student that they forget the valid aim of education: the search for truth

LEOPOLD KOHR

Narcissus was the youth who was so infatuated with his own beauty that he could find no greater pleasure than to contemplate his reflection in the waters of a spring. In the end he pined away. Psychoanalysts have given his name to the erotic aberration characterized by excessive devotion to oneself. It might also be given to the condition spreading rapidly through our modern universities. They are becoming so infatuated with their makeup that, instead of pursuing the search for truth, they spend an increasing amount of time sitting by the fountain contemplating their own features.

The outstanding manifestation of academic narcissism is the volume of Soviet-style self-analysis dedicated to the improvement of the mechanics of teaching. There is not a month in which the subject is not discussed at great length, and not a year in which committees of professors do not take time off from their pursuits to consider how to make the face of a modern university more attractive to students, and how the consumers of education could be served better than they are already. It has led to new advising procedures. A faculty member must now be on call to help his assigned wards untangle their academic difficulties, thereby encouraging them to walk on crutches rather than on their own feet. He must consult with his colleagues on what sort of examination to give and what textbooks to use, thus being forced to waste his time reading a large number of similar books with whose substance he is long familiar and from whose absorption he knows beforehand that he can learn nothing new. Though few things are more time-consuming and sterile than this form of collective action on the part of a formerly highly individualistic academic community, little can be done about it. For according to the tenets of progressive education, the master to be served in institutions of learning should not be the professor but the student.

On first sight this seems reasonable. But is it? Should the professor dedicate his scholarly activities to the welfare of the student? And should his primary concern be to provide the best possible education? Maybe; but as far as can be discerned, the result of this laudable social-service principle seems to be a gradual deterioration of the level of our education. True, more persons are now educated than in any other epoch in history. But unless the evidence of past accomplishment is entirely misleading, their *level* of education is lower, and their knowledge more limited, than before. My father, a modest country doctor, was able years after leaving school to recite Homer and Virgil in Greek and Latin by the pages, and so were the local judge, the lawyer, the pharmacist. My own knowledge, acquired under the progressive concept that education should in the first place serve the student, enables me after a study of six years to recite in Greek a single line, the beginning verse of the Iliad. And I am a university professor, not a country doctor. Yet even this little is enough to stun occasionally my colleagues or students whose knowledge of Greek is confined to deciphering the three letters of their fraternities. This in a civilization that prides itself on being heir to the glory that was Greece.

No one will persuade me that this indicates an advance, or that, even without Greek, one nowadays learns more, and more useful, subjects. One does not. All it indicates is that the social-service motive is not only economically but also educationally less productive than the old-fashioned self-serving private-profit motive. Applied to education, as it was in a less collectivized age, the private-profit motive emphasized aims quite different from those which are now the center of academic effort. And as in economic activities, it produced more glittering results.

The Professor of Yesterday

In the first place, the professor did not think that his principal duty was to teach the student: still less that it was to serve the community. To the latter he displayed the same attitude of respect as the capitalist businessman of his time. It could be damned. Selfishly, he was interested only in the discovery of truth and in the competitive sportsman's satisfaction of coming closer to it than anyone else. As to his students, he did not consider them his public but his servants, his attendants. The most outstanding of them he even called officially his "assistants." And instead of protesting such a lowly designation, they were proud of it.

From the professor's point of view, the students had only one function. Assembled in his class, they were there to help him in his daily explorations. So that they should not impede his progress, he would inspect their equipment like the leader of an expedition ascending an unclimbed mountain. He would carefully discuss his premises, anticipate the difficulties ahead, give them advice and drills, make them repeat his instructions, and eliminate those unable to remember what they had been told or to keep up with his pace. Then he would set out, thinking aloud and dictating, as it were, his observations, deductions, and speculations, but never turning his head again in paternalistic benignity to see whether his flock was still there. For with the limited lifetime at his disposal truth could not wait.

If this seems too outrageous an at-

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titude, one need but visualize the problem of a professor of medicine. Performing an operation in front of his students, should his duty be to teach them how to operate? Repeat an incision, if someone could not follow? And, in his eagerness to face his class and explain every move, perhaps forget a sponge in the patient's stomach? Or should his duty even in class be not to teach the student but to cure the patient? And will his knowledge of curing be greater if he is animated by the altruistic desire to teach, help, and heal, or by the egotistical desire to get to the root of things in order to satisfy his own curiosity? The history of learning seems to have shown that the most fruitful approach was always the latter. To find, not to apply.

The classical concept of education saw in the teacher not a father substitute or a helper of others but a seeker for his own benefit. His sole academic duty was that of occasionally formulating his thoughts aloud, inviting comments and, like a Florentine painter, permitting his disciples to hold his brushes and learn as best they could by watching him at work. He never faced them; neither figuratively nor, often, even actually. If some of them fell by the wayside, that was unfortunate. But they had parents and friends who loved them none the less for it.

The important thing was that they did not keep the professor from going ahead. A few would always keep up with his pace, and some, being younger in years and equally single-minded in the pursuit of truth, might even outrun him. And mankind, instead of suffering by such social unconcern, has always benefited through the few whose vision was greater than that of the many.

Regressive Learning

Modern, or progressive, education has no sympathy with such admitted egotism. Ratifying the spiritual decline of capitalist principles, it impresses upon the teacher the necessity of having not his own but the community's welfare in his mind, imagining at the same time that the community he is supposed to serve is still governed by profit-seeking capitalism. It forces him to interrupt his personal search at every turn to lend a helping hand to what he is led to believe are his wards. Instead of contemplating truth, he must contemplate the university which, from the president down to the janitor, is considered a large, happy family dedicated to cooperation rather than to service of the truth-seeking individual scholar. Progressive education means regressive learning. With what I know, I could, three generations ago, have met the requirements for elementary school teaching. In our advanced age, it is sufficient for teaching at university level.

If modern educational standards are to be improved, it will in the first place be necessary for universities to divert their attention from the narcissistic contemplation of their increasingly pompous institutional selves to the solitary and hidden seat of truth, where proximity counts but nothing else; not citizenship, not buildings, not people. In the second place, the expensive apparatus now turning around the community and the student, must be made to turn around the faculty again, and not around the faculty as a group but around the individual faculty member. He must be freed from such wasteful duties as advising students how to pass an exam, determining administrative procedures, administering mass doctrines or participating in a mistaken application of democratic principles in the technical management of the institution. And he must be freed from the most time-consuming and sterile of all tasks—committee work, or any sort of cooperative undertaking which can just as easily be performed by secretaries or by the president of the administrative staff.

For scholarship and learning are by their very nature not cooperative but individual pursuits, inspired by casual conversation and unplanned debate, but never by the suffocating grip of organization. Had Moses relied on a committee to decide which mountain to climb, which route to take, and whether he should go alone or with a delegation, a succession of procedural approaches would have been resolved upon, reflecting the proper team spirit. But God, the Ten Commandments in His hands, would in all likelihood still be waiting for him.

"PROGRESSIVE" SCHOOL
LOST: Somewhere in the labyrinth of this neighborhood, the three R's. Will pay liberal reward of gratitude and thanksgiving to finder. COLUMBIA

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Letter from London

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

Labor's Pension Scheme

In a storm of rising opposition, the series of British hydrogen-bomb tests finally began. No responsible government could really have postponed them, and the Labor Party's erratic protests do more credit to Socialist hearts than to Socialist heads; and more still perhaps to the Socialist instinct for what might be politically advantageous.

Not that Socialist policies nowadays are particularly attractive to the electorate. The recent Local Council elections showed a certain number of Labor gains, but the only real moral to be drawn from the figures is that the drift away from the Conservative Party has been neither halted nor intensified. Mr. Macmillan has done wonders in holding his Parliamentary team together but he hasn't yet succeeded in bringing that dangerous body of disillusioned Conservative voters back into the fold.

These absentee Conservatives can still see no rift in the pale pink cloud which seems to envelop modern British politics—and perhaps not only British ones. They see what looks remarkably like retreat abroad, and at home a continued policy of appeasing the trade unions. They are not mollified by a budget which took one step in the right direction after a hundred had been taken in the wrong one. They are shocked to find a Conservative Government proposing new restrictions on liberty in the form of an iniquitous Shops Bill and the demand for more powers of compulsory purchase.

The Labor Party has now produced what it hopes will be an election winner of far greater significance than anything that has happened lately—its long-heralded new pension scheme enabling everyone to retire on half pay. What it amounts to is that everyone should be compelled to pay substantially larger insurance contributions during his working life; these would be supplemented by further contributions from his employer and out of general taxation; and the resulting half-pay pension would be adjusted to possible fluctuations in the value of the pound.

There are two main objections to this. The first is the likelihood, judging by recent events, that the unions would soon be demanding more pay to make up for larger insurance deductions. This would mean more inflation, further depreciation of the pound and a swifter plunge into an economic chaos which would soon engulf every long-term financial arrangement, State pension schemes not excluded. The other objection is more fundamental. The scheme involves still further transfer of power, resources and freedom of choice from the individual to the State. It denies his right to make his own arrangements for his own old age. It forbids him to decide at what stage in his life he most wants to spend his own money. It makes him still more dependent on politicians and impersonal authorities.

But the Labor Party's pension scheme clearly has its attractions; so much so that Mr. Macmillan has lately held a house-party for all those Ministers chiefly concerned with home affairs, and the design of a Conservative pension scheme headed the agenda. This scheme will probably be very much like the Socialist one except that the element of compulsion will be absent—or at least I sincerely hope it will.

Absorbing though they are to political theorists, these domestic issues hardly compare for real significance with Mr. Macmillan's announcement that British shipping would now use the Suez Canal on Colonel Nasser's terms. The inevitability of this unpalatable decision has been obvious for so long that the shock was somewhat cushioned. Mr. Macmillan had previously explained his position to the remaining core of the "Suez Group" and evidently succeeded in convincing a lot of them. Only eight Conservative members of Parliament followed Lord Salisbury out into the wilderness. In due course most of them will probably return.

It's hard to see what else Mr. Macmillan could have done. Once the other maritime nations of the world started using the Canal, and paying their tribute to Colonel Nasser, it would have been far more damaging to Britain's precarious economy than to Egypt's for the Government to have maintained a unilateral boycott.

Colonel Nasser and his Soviet backers are still well ahead of the game. There are two reasons for this. The first goes back to a series of British mistakes and miscalculations in the Middle East. The second is that when Britain woke up to the danger, the rest of the world prevented her doing anything about it. The situation has now reached a point where the next move is up to other people: the Israeli government which will sooner or later test Israel's right to send a ship through the Canal; President Eisenhower who has assumed many of the responsibilities which Britain and France were compelled to abandon.

The situation in the Middle East is now much clearer than it was. A year ago, the powder barrel and its sinister artificers were there, too, but out of sight; now everybody knows about them. And the past few months have also been damaging to Colonel Nasser's prestige. The myth of Arab unity is largely broken and Communist infiltration has been exposed and in some places checked. But these gains are very precarious. If anything were to happen to Nuri es Said in Iraq, or if young King Hussein finally lost his dangerous gamble in Jordan, the whole seething caldron would promptly boil over. The speed with which animosity towards the British and French was transferred to the Americans is highly significant.

Nothing has been settled. According to the Egyptian government, Egypt and Israel are still at war. Colonel Nasser has been left with his ill-gotten gains and is to be paid for keeping them. The Middle East seethes with agitators. The game certainly isn't over. But, for the moment at least, the initiative has passed out of British hands.

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Letter from the Continent

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

Americans in Europe

A greater number of Americans than ever before are preparing to visit Europe. There is only one international relationship which is more delicate, more fraught with psychological pitfalls than that between Americans and Continentals—the contacts between Americans and Britons.

The American is more relaxed on the Continent than in the British Isles, but he sets foot in France, Spain, or Italy armed with certain definite ideas, and is received by people who have equally preconceived notions of what Americans are. It is a silly legend that human beings learn easily by experience. Every American the Continental meets who deviates from his mental image is, if recognized at all as different, an "exception"; the occasional American who confirms the Continental's views immediately cancels out all other impressions. And the travelling American commits the same mistakes *mutatis mutandis*.

A few years ago I published in a leading Austrian daily an article, "Ten Myths Relating to the American." I was flooded with letters of protest from Americans and Austrians because the picture I painted was radically different from those clichés believed by Americans about themselves and which they have successfully inculcated on Europeans. (It took me years of living all over the United States to get rid of these clichés.)

I stated that: 1. Americans are not particularly gay but whimsical and melancholy. 2. Americans are not by nature *gemütlich* (relaxed, easy-going) but tense, and extremely hard workers. 3. Americans are never *naturally* ill-mannered (like so many Europeans) but put on artificially bad manners as a "gesture" and are actually great believers in etiquette. 4. Their sexual morals are not half as bad as we are led to believe. 5. American males normally are inhibited in female company and do not really enjoy it unless they are enamored of their partner. 6. Americans, though highly respectful of their nation's Constitution, Founding Fathers, and democracy in theory, despise most of their elected legislators and are contemptuous of democracy in practice. 7. Americans are not very "practical" and not in the least lovers of revolutionary innovations. 8. Americans, unlike most Europeans, have no love for money, which to them is merely a means to an end. 9. The *average* American is far better educated than the *average* European, a superiority which becomes more marked the further we go down the social scale. 10. American society is anything but egalitarian, and the most dynamic force in American life is by no means hard cash but social prominence, which—as everywhere—can of course be emphasized with the help of money.

The American who sets foot on the Continent will be easily fooled by a different, in some respects even opposite set of errors which, unfortunately, are frequently confirmed by fleeting impressions.

1. He might get the impression of a rigid "class system" with class differences far greater than in the United States. The truth is that *income* differences are more marked, but in *human* terms the European societies are very egalitarian and have a great social mobility due to a socially, though not intellectually, much more democratic educational system. Woe to you if you offend the lower classes, especially in Central and Southern Europe! They have an innate sense of nobility.

2. There is real love for money in Europe, a rather limited hospitality, little generosity, but a curious trust in financial matters on a slightly higher level: if, for instance, you run out of money it usually won't be difficult to cash a personal check in a bank.

3. There is a great deal of red tape on the Continent, and yet this part of the world is more flexible than you think. *Never* take No for an answer! Insist and wriggle your way through! You can do it, sometimes the hard way—*i.e.*, through bribery—or, better still, through clever words or planned flattery, making yourself *simpatico*.

4. In spite of European avarice and money worship, cash will never get you friends; friends can be made only through personal contacts, personal affinities. Bribes or big tips don't generate gratitude, only hidden resentment. South Europeans, moreover, never can be "bought"; they can only be *hired*.

5. If the ticket collector in an Italian museum raves about your pretty ten-year-old daughter and pats her on the head expressing his delight about the child, don't look angry or shout for the police. He means just what he says. And if your wife is accosted in Roman streets or commented on with *piropas* in Madrid squares, this rarely means more than the tribute given to, and more or less expected by, any attractive woman.

6. The Continent is not really a "friendly" part of the world. The easy and quick *camaraderie* of America is lacking. People distinguish most carefully between mere acquaintances and friends; and though Continental friendship might blossom forth overnight, it is rare and precious.

7. Don't mind debating politics with anybody, but remember that the labels over here usually bear no resemblance to American ones. A "liberal," in Europe, is a man who believes passionately in personal liberty (and not in the welfare state); a "federalist" believes in states' rights; a "Radical Socialist" is a typical bourgeois; a "Christian Socialist" is a man who fights Socialism in the name of social justice; a "neutralist" is a fellow traveler in matters of foreign policy; "Social Democrats" are weak-kneed Marxists; and "Popular Republicans" have been denounced as "clericals." Who is a democrat? Everybody over here calls himself a democrat.

8. Always bear in mind that, unlike North America, the Continent is revolutionary. It is the Continent of radical breaks with the past, of violent upheavals, of a mad craving for the new, of change for change's sake, but also of terrible surprises and unlimited possibilities.

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The Paradox of Soviet Science

JOHN F. KILEY

Recently an editorial in a leading American scientific journal sought an explanation for what it called a "paradox." It wanted to learn how Soviet scientific work can flourish in an atmosphere of political and intellectual regimentation. The possibility that regimentation could even directly benefit science was denied. Yet somehow Soviet science flourishes. But how?

This question is only too easily answered, but first, since it is the summer season, let us give our attention to weeding that hardy perennial, *Superstitia Americana,* receiving so much loving cultivation in the journal's garden. Is it not altogether clear we are safe from hindering our scientific advancement at least up to the limit of the Soviet Union's regimentation of its scientists (who, Slavic and inscrutable though they be, are still men)? This gives us loads of room for political tightening up before we need to begin worrying about hitting any vital, creative part. (But just what the military value of a Soviet scientist's conditioning to humiliating dictation and nerve-torturing fear is, is surely a question that gives one pause.)

The main problem in this age for any man, whether Russian, American or educated Hottentot, who has the professional knowledge to explode the planet, is this: How can I agreeably adapt myself to the necessities of political inspection and control by my superiors?

Of course, the only answer to the question of intellectual freedom for scientists is the simple one philosophers give. To think, the human animal must choose his standard of comparison, whether it be the speed of light in vacuo, the art canons of Berenson or the word of God revealed to men. Which means that an absolute intellectual freedom, free of all tests of validity and outside all frames of reference, is logical nonsense. Man is not free to think what he pleases even if it pleases him to think he is. He is free to choose a certain aspect of reality for his consideration; nor does such freedom guarantee he has chosen "the better part." If, for example, he wishes to serve the tables of mankind with all the delectable dishes of scientific discovery and invention while his sister philosopher sits at the feet of reality in active contemplation he is free to do so. He is free to disdain his sister and complain of her idleness, free to engage in the activity himself. But he is *not* free to think what he pleases about the chosen aspect.

Nothing is more reassuring of the scientific mind than to see it line up so solidly and docilely before the Special Theory of Relativity, even in its tentative character. Is any scientist heard to complain of the abridgement of his intellectual liberty? Does any Compton or Bohr blush as the captive of mathematical dogma? But, it will be argued, Einstein's work seizes one by the throat with its logical power. It leaves one richer, not poorer; freer, not more enslaved. That is precisely the point. It is the very function of truth to make man free though he is not free to trifle with what is true.

The easy conclusion one reaches is that the scientist who is a man and not a concept in someone's mind (it may be even in his own) is not exempt *at any time* from the fixed circumstances of human life. He is, so to speak, caught permanently in a human frame of reference just like all other men. He must eat, sleep, pay his debts and watch out for pedestrians when he drives. Submission to authority of all kinds is his and each man's lot. Frictionless motion is found nowhere in nature, and absolute political or intellectual freedom is, in principle, the same kind of imaginary ideal. Maximum political freedom for any man is a delicate balance of what is good for him and his fellow citizens privately and publicly. Maximum intellectual freedom derives from possessing maximum truth.

Basically, it is no paradox that Soviet science has flourished under strict political control and in a forced ideological atmosphere. The strictest political control cannot penetrate to the private sources of human spirituality. Moreover, men turn to hypocrisy long before they turn to believing in falsehoods. Even the Stalinist biologist in complete Party favor has a vast area of possible research which is of no political or ideological significance. In physics and chemistry this area is virtually unlimited. On sensitive issues, the practicing Soviet scientist hews to the Party line and then (smiling secretly to himself) goes about his real work unmolested. The Party is satisfied it has attained orthodoxy, a high degree of military security is maintained and most important of all, and quite unparadoxically, science flourishes.

In addition there is the essential compatibility between modern scientific methodology and Hegelian-Marxist philosophy. Both have been eminently successful in the control and exploitation of mechanical forces, whether pure and simple ones like atomic radiation or partial ones like men. And, as one would logically expect, in the latter case the Communists have been only partially successful. In this case, they are fighting not against time in a five year plan but against nature and a Divine Plan for it. The philosophy of dialectical materialism applied to men is doomed to fail by the very necessity it enunciates. This failure will be most conspicuous when it reaches the inevitable, anarchical proportions that are commonly called "revolution."

Soviet science, then, is no paradox. It is the natural result of the efforts of a large and prosperous country caught up in the deadly contest for survival and/or world domination.

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ARTS and MANNERS

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

The Millenium of Leisure

I don't mean to scare anybody, but the time is approaching fast when being entertained will be America's main occupation. The working week shrinks inexorably, soon it will be legally down to thirty hours, and the average American TV devotee already spends twenty hours a week in front of the infernal machine. Add to them the ten to twenty hours he kills in the movies, at ball games, horse races, and sundry entertainment outings every week, and there can be no further statistical doubt that we are in serious trouble.

For there can be no doubt, either, that the most pressing (and least soluble) problem of mass-man is his leisure, not his working time. His job lifts him above and outside himself, if only because it disciplines him. But when he stops working, and starts on the immensely painful job of keeping himself nonetheless occupied, he is thrown back on his own resources—which is the one situation our efficient contemporary cannot master; and this for the simple reason that he *has* no resources of his own. His notorious fear of loneliness is in fact the perfectly natural fear of nothingness: when alone with himself, mass-man has entered a deadening vacuum. And this he knows much more clearly than his psychiatrists who flatter him. Mass-man, whatever else he may be, is a realist. When compelled to leisure, he works harder than ever, if only at the job of seeking company. And it is at this point that the entertainment industry assumes its superior importance.

Foremen and Top-Bananas

It has been a truism for decades that the writer of a nation's songs is more powerful than he who writes its laws. And there is in this cliché an appropriate bow to the truth that, from the beginning to the end of time, the poet-seer, the creator of images and myths, ultimately determines everyman's standards. But in this context I am driving at much less and much more. Never mind, for the moment, ultimate standards! Just consider, in terms of time spent and impressions inhaled, the wild preponderance of the American entertainment industry over all other social operations!

In terms of time spent, if you add to the direct efforts at being entertained the long hours wasted on the horrors of mass magazines and on the animal pleasure of driving the car, mass-man *has* already reached the millenium where more time is consumed in leisure than in producing a livelihood. (Which means, among other things, that the entertainment industry has become the dominant single industry in the country.) And those effective young union leaders who do not fool themselves—*i.e.*, the realistic ideologues around a man like Walter Reuther—have completely discarded the old-fashioned socialist cant that a man's working conditions shape his ideology. They have rebuilt their unions to fit the new vital circumstances—to fit, that is, a social reality in which the top-bananas on TV rather than the foremen in the shops evoke responses and provoke attitudes. The modern union leaders, in other words, are these days at least as interested in controlling their men's leisure time as in controlling their working conditions: more and more effectively, union leadership penetrates the mass media.

This interlocking directorate between entertainment industry and Leftist Establishment is, of course, a matter of camaraderie rather than formalized relations. The TV networks still employ reasonable facsimilies of tycoons in executive positions and, officially at least, they yield to the pressures of unionism no more than they yield to every other kind of articulate pressure. But it just so happens that the Edward R. Murrows who set the reportorial and intellectual tone for the whole trade get all their inspiration on the Left. It is worse only in the mass magazines—presumably because, unlike TV, they sell for a price and are, therefore, even more accessible to open and silent boycott. When the *Saturday Evening Post,* very occasionally indeed, publishes an editorial that expresses what one would naively presume to be the normal position of a private entrepreneur, this is considered throughout the trade a bold, if not foolhardy and whimsical, flight of daring. And if *Look, Life* and *True Confessions* have recently taken a non-Leftist position on anything at all, Mr. Reuther and I must have missed it.

Creeping Nihilism

There are only two groups of citizens who seem to be totally unaware of the crucial function our mass media have assumed in the collectivist penetration of society—the capitalists who own the mass media, on the one hand; and the capitalists who subsidize the business through advertising, on the other. Both groups, it seems, are caught in the inherent contradiction of a mass market; it cannot prosper if it does not give in to mass preferences; but it cannot survive if it does. As long as the entertainment industry makes money for itself and its sponsors by submitting to the Left, the capitalists gladly look in the other direction. I expect them to awaken in the crash. It will then be too late, of course.

Another truism of past decades has it that Leftism flourishes in depressions and withers in prosperity. There is not one iota of truth in this truism. The exact opposite is true, at least as far as prosperity is concerned. In the tepid and utterly indifferent atmosphere of prosperity, when everybody makes money and nobody gives a damn, it is not only socialism that creeps into the relaxed body politic. This is the period of creeping nihilism. Principles die, ideas droop, allegiances atrophy. This is the time when mass-man, the ultimate nihilist, takes over. He does it simply by being himself and having the mass market comply with his negative standards. The rest caves in.

This is the time of the year when every critic produces a résumé of the season just passed. Here is mine.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

Veblen Today

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

The virtue of Thorstein Veblen, in his own *fin de siècle* time, was that he threw everything away and began over again. Thus he frequently achieved the clarity of the child who dared point to the manifest nakedness of the king.

There is no such innocent virtue in Bernard Rosenberg's *The Values of Veblen: A Critical Appraisal* (Public Affairs Press, $2.50). Here nothing of moment is thrown away: Veblen's critique of the business civilization of the nineties and early nineteen hundreds is taken as supremely relevant to the America of the nineteen fifties. The book is tersely, sometimes epigrammatically, written, and the exposition of Veblen's leading ideas is entirely competent. Nevertheless, in its spirit of bland and even blind acceptance, it is a very un-Veblenian performance. Despite the foreword of Max Lerner, who insists that Professor Rosenberg has subjected Veblen to a real grilling, *The Values of Veblen* is a latter-day Mandarin's obeisance to the Master.

No doubt Professor Rosenberg's book will have its uses: it is a good introduction to what Veblen wrote. But what about Veblen's critique today? To what does it apply?

Since Professor Rosenberg considers *The Higher Learning in America* to be one of Veblen's "central" books, let us begin with that. It was the essence of Veblen's criticism of the college and university world of Charles Eliot's and William Rainey Harper's day that the "business men" had taken over the direction of higher education. In many ways this was true. Our colleges have tended to succumb to the shortsighted values of vocationalism. They have suffered from the diseases of gigantism. Every article which Russell Kirk writes for NATIONAL REVIEW documents at least a part of *The Higher Learning*. But if vocationalism, gigantism and a slipshod relativism have invaded Academe, it does not follow that the modern university has been conquered by the business partisans of Adam Smith, who was Veblen's economic *bête noire*. Indeed, quite the opposite has happened: there is hardly an important university economics faculty today which does not take off from the springboard provided by Veblen's own *The Theory of Business Enterprise*. This book, which arraigned the tycoon as a saboteur of productive efficiency who fought to establish scarcity in the interests of maintaining high prices, is central to the teaching of the whole academic tribe which has swallowed the theory of "monopolistic" and "oligopolistic" competition without a pinch of salt. In other words, Veblen's economic ideas have become the new orthodoxy—and the businessman who supposedly manipulates universities as he pleases has swallowed the rigmarole without even so much as a whimper.

Of course, it could theoretically be true that the "conscientious withdrawal of efficiency" is the hallmark of modern industrial production—in which case the question of the "orthodoxy" or "unorthodoxy" of Veblen would be entirely beside the point. But when a Crucible Steel Company invades the province of an Allegheny Ludlum Steel Company in the making of the newer "grain steels," just who is "withdrawing" efficiency? And when the German Volkswagen takes the play away from the American Motors Company's Metropolitan in the small car field, just how can anybody maintain that the automobile tycoons of the world are engaged in a cartel conspiracy to make cars "scarce"? In a world in which everybody seems to be invading someone else's "specialty," competition rages as never before. If there is any "conscientious withdrawal of efficiency" observable in the economic world of the nineteen fifties, it is in agriculture, where the sabotage of crops is encouraged by a government which is still under the spell of Veblen's chief disciple, Professor Rexford Tugwell.

When Veblen was writing *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, the monkey dinners of the Newport rich were still considered *de rigueur* in the world of fashion. "Conspicuous leisure" and "conspicuous waste" could be observed wherever three or more millionaires foregathered. But after fifty years of the progressive income tax only a fool would maintain that America is going down the drain because of the "waste" in upper class society. Indeed, as William Schlamm has pointed out in his "The Suicide of Wealth" (NATIONAL REVIEW, August 18, 1956) capitalism is now threatened by the "conspicuous stinginess" of the wealthy who save their money to nobody's benefit but the U.S. Treasury's inheritance tax collector's.

Veblen hated sport, and he lashed out at the wealthy yacht owner and polo player. But who are the sportsmen of today? Who throngs the motels of Vermont at the height of the skiing season? Who buys the sports shirts which are worn even on the subway? Who plays shuffleboard in St. Petersburg, Florida, all winter? Who makes the trout streams look like main travelled arteries on the opening day of the fishing season? It is certainly not the rich practicing "conspicuous leisure." No, as anyone with even half an eye can see, it is just the Veblenian "common man" who is intent on supporting the

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"vested interests" who insist on catering to the pleasures of the many, not the few.

The truth is that Veblen has conquered—and, in conquering, has become *vieux jeu*. He is to the current college generation of economics students what Taussig and Thomas Nixon Carver were to my generation —the very Bible of Orthodoxy. But the "rebels" go on writing about Veblen as if he were still a dangerous radical who, try as he may, cannot get a hearing. *C'est à rire.*

Murray Rothbard has recently rejoiced that we no longer suffer from the "miasmatic blight" of Thorstein Veblen, meaning that Veblen's deadpan phrases ("the underlying population," "the kept classes") are no longer sure-fire invitations to sneering laughter. But the real blight of Veblen—a generation of young academicians who have ossified his teachings—continues to grow. Veblen did have a hard time keeping an academic job in his day (his cavalier treatment of marriage vows made him a "difficult" character to assimilate), but he generally managed to be attached to some payroll. Today, with Veblenians in charge of the hiring halls of Academe, it is only the rare anti-Veblenian who achieves the tenure that goes with a full professorship. "Academic freedom" is still selectively interpreted: the only difference between the eighteen nineties and the nineteen fifties is that the Veblenians have ousted the non-Veblenians and established a new Orthodoxy supported by a new Tyranny.

If the new orthodoxy made any sense, things would not be in a bad way with the "higher learning." But the new orthodoxy makes very little contact with the world outside the precincts of the college campus. Instead of generalizing from what actually goes on in business, the modern Veblenian economics professor repeats his Veblenian and his Keynesian formulae by rote. All that remains to be done to make the ossification perpetual and final is to get the central government behind it, with the passage of a few federal aid-to-education bills. What an ironic end that will be for Veblen, who once stood an orthodoxy on its head.

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Spiritual Chop Suey

An Essay on Mankind, by Gerhard Hirschfeld. 114 pp. New York: Philosophical Library. $3.75

The Two Cities, by John A. Hutchison. 190 pp. New York: Doubleday and Company. $3.50

Mr. Hirschfeld, who complains that he cannot find books about "the proper identification of mankind" in our libraries and so undertakes to supply the deficiency, has produced a somewhat confused but not uncritical collection of opinions. He almost makes the discovery that since the cohesive force of every human group is opposition to some other group, schemes for "One World" are merely products of overheated imaginations; but he shies away from so unpleasant a conclusion and lulls himself with a dream in which mankind can unite itself by a) deciding that nothing is worth dying for, and b) declaring open war on all other forms of life.

Mr. Hutchison strives valiantly to consider anew the relations between religion and the state, and he occasionally has the courage of his perceptions. But he has hacked his thinking into a bowl of Liberal chop suey, garnished with all the tidbits that delight the Liberal palate, from praise of Reuther's "labor statesmanship" to the oleaginous dictum that concern about Communists in our government is "the product of unreasoning fear."

Mr. Hutchison begins by misrepresenting the fundamental doctrines of Judaism from the Books of Moses to the Talmud, doubtless believing that historical truth should be subordinated to the noble purpose of showing that Judaism and Christianity are really the same thing after all. He then operates on Christianity to show that it was not understood in the Dark Ages before Hutchison. Christianity, we discover, means "democracy," and what Mr. Hutchison means by democracy becomes apparent when, apropos some of the most marked results of our current drift toward totalitarianism, he blandly observes that "democratic government has to become ever more democratic, providing new ways to serve the whole community more adequately." All Christians, we are told, must join in the wretched mummery that is called the United Nations, because national sovereignty is "highly un-Christian." And all Christians "must expose the sort of psychopathic [*nota bene*] American nationalism that finds expression in the Bricker amendment."

Whether shock treatments or gas chambers are what Christianity decrees for the "lunatic groups" who are loyal to their country, we are not told, but for those who may see whither Mr. Hutchison's Christianity must inevitably go, a tranquilizing pill has been added to the chop suey: although Communism has a "biblical lineage," Mr. Hutchison assures us that he does not approve of it.

REVILO OLIVER

Brave Spy

Nightmare and Dawn, by Mark Aldanov. Translated by Joel Carmichael. 343 pp. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. $4.50

Mark Aldanov, the late Russian novelist and anti-Communist emigré, produced, as his last book, an intriguing tale of modern espionage. This contest between American and Soviet military intelligence officers begins in West Berlin shortly before the death of Stalin and ends at the Brandenburg Gate during the East Berlin riots of 1953.

The services of Schell, a professional spy with an international reputation for brilliance, bravery and success, are sought by both the West and the East. While admitting to the American colonel that his primary objective is money, and stating that "it's more dangerous to work for the

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Western world than for the Eastern" (because, if the Soviets catch you, "they just shoot you, and what's much worse they torture you beforehand"), Schell obviously prefers not to work for the Communists, though he maintains contacts with them.

Mr. Aldanov displays remarkable powers of observation, analysis and imagination, especially in presenting Schell around whom most of the action and interest revolve. This modern Count Saint-Germain with the "strangler's hands" is both scoundrel and gentleman, magnificently false and humbly honest, ruthless and kind.

In addition to the human drama this very literate novel furnishes a glimpse into the inside workings of American and Soviet military intelligence.

FRANCES BECK

There Goes Your Money

The O.S.S. and I, by William J. Morgan. 281 pp. New York: W. W. Norton. $3.75

There has been a strange sequence of books during the last few months about our unmentionable intelligence service. This one is the third that has come to the reviewer's notice. There were, before, *Knock and Wait Awhile,* a second-rate first novel by William R. Weeks, and J. P. Marquand's bang-up *Stopover Tokyo,* based, no doubt, on officially supplied data.

The current offering purports to describe some parts of the inside story of OSS, the predecessor of the CIA. Official clearance must have been obtained for this publication. The public is evidently to conclude that all of that hidden money in the budget that pays for these operations (a figure obscured even from Senators) has been well spent. Whether this sort of publicity will continue with the regularity of Sax Rohmer remains to be seen. Up to now, it has been more bizarre than Fu Manchu.

The jacket blurb lists the author as "a professional psychologist." And the author's book describes "a professional psychologist's paradise"; an English country house called Pemberly where OSS candidates were run like white rats past warrens, mazes, swinging bridges and tunnels. This was wonderful fun for the psychologists, and generally it hurt the candidates little beyond a broken arm, except for an occasional nervous breakdown. Just how effective this training was the psychologists never knew, the thing being so secret that reports from the field never got back to the training schools.

Dr. Morgan eventually went out by parachute to the Maquis and (he writes) accomplished extraordinary feats against the *boches.* Armored columns were ambushed, French women were kissed, and supplies hijacked from other Maquis. Clearly, the money was well spent.

MONTGOMERY M. GREEN

The Great Scare

Radiation: What It Is and How It Affects You, by Jack Schubert and Ralph E. Lapp. 314 pp. New York: The Viking Press. $3.95

This book was published a month after Albert Schweitzer's world-wide appeal for the abolition of nuclear weapons tests; a few days before the opening of a special congressional inquiry into present and future fall-out perils; and it coincided with the 1957 U.S. and British nuclear explosions which have provoked riots both in Japan and in the soul of Mr. Krishna Menon.

To those familiar with Dr. Lapp's writings on this subject it can come as no surprise that he and Dr. Schubert follow the Liberal-Neutralist-Communist line of the moment and recommend an immediate world-wide ban on further atomic and nuclear tests. While they are unable to point to a single case of Strontium-90 injury or death attributable to fall-out, they insist that any increase in radiation, no matter how infinitesimal, can be harmful. Since the diseases resulting from radiation, such as bone cancer and leukemia, can take as much as twenty or thirty years to develop, they say, and since genetic mutations may affect only future generations, if there is error it must be on the conservative side. To gamble on a 0.1 per cent chance of radiation injury in a controlled group, such as workers in an atomic plant, is permissible, they say; to gamble with the same odds on a global level, when one considers that 0.1 per cent of the world's population is 2.5 million people, is not.

The opposing scientific school, headed by Dr. Willard F. Libby of the Atomic Energy Commission, contends that there is no gamble as yet, that we are not even close to the danger point. The amount of Strontium-90 released in all atomic explosions to date, they say, is less than one per cent of the maximum permissible concentration—far too low to cause detectable effects.

The fall-out peril forms only a portion of the discussion. Most of *Radiation* is devoted to consideration of the perils of radiation through over-use and misuse of radium, radio-isotopes, X-ray and fluoroscopes in medical diagnosis and treatment. How careless radiologists themelves are in their handling of the lethal machines was shown in a 1930-1954 survey of 82,000 American doctors: the average radiologist lives 5.7 fewer years than the average doctor who is not exposed to radiation. And since the medical profession has done little to police itself in the sixty years since Dr. Roentgen discovered the X-ray, Drs. Lapp and Schubert recommend the creation, by Congress, of a National Radiation Control Act to prevent all forms of radiation potentially harmful to individuals.

PRISCILLA L. BUCKLEY

New Book For Well-informed Inquiring Minds

John Chamberlain has written the foreword to an amazing new book, "CITADEL, MARKET AND ALTAR" by Spencer Heath, that gives you a revealing look into the future of our emerging society under the free enterprise system—its inspiring quality, at once scientific and spiritual, and its impending new surge of vital power. You are invited to send for a copy of this 280 page cloth bound book, read it within five days . . . then remit $6.00 in full payment or return book. Clip this ad, with your name and address and mail to the publisher; Science of Society Foundation, Inc., Dept. NR, Baltimore 27, Maryland.

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To the Editor

Flying Under Reversible Colors

I read your "Questionnaire" in the June 15 issue with much interest and amusement.

I happen to be opposed both to fluoridation and to nuclear experiments. Does this make me a Reactionary Liberal, or—as a subscriber to NATIONAL REVIEW—a Liberal Reactionary?

New York City GEDEON DE MARGITAY

Making Every Minute . Woman Count

In your June 22 issue you mention the presence of "six members of the Minute Women" at a Baltimore League of Women Voters' meeting.

As chairman of the Maryland Chapter of the Minute Women USA, I wish to state that there was no formal group planning for Minute Women representation at this meeting. Minute Women act as individuals according to the dictates of their own convictions. Accordingly, NATIONAL REVIEW should take due note of the fact that there was no "ambush" nor "internal subversion" planned by the Maryland Chapter against anyone.

. . . One of the Minute Women who attended said she was surprised when she found during the discussions the presence of other Minute Women. From these facts you can see how spontaneous the opposition happened to be.

Baltimore, Md. MARY K. HUXLEY

Voluntary Overseas Duty

In the June 15 issue Mr. Somers of Brooklyn, an ex-serviceman, opines that most servicemen would prefer the Status of Forces Treaty if it were not for the fact that it exposes them to double jeopardy: first they receive a penalty from the foreign authorities and then from the military authorities. His example is the revocation of a license by the Air Force after a serviceman had already paid a British fine.

Apparently Mr. Somers spent most of his time overseas, for the same procedure obtains here. Servicemen are subject to all local rules and ordinances of the communities in or near which they are stationed, and they may be tried and sentenced in any civilian court.

An interesting and not uncommon case is the serviceman caught by a civilian speed trap. Unable to post the large bond sum, he is put in the cooler until he can scare up the money for the fine. The forcible detention results in his being AWOL. He is then subject to court martial. . . .

If this is the only reason for objecting to Status of Forces agreements it is of no value. . . . If it is admitted that some stationing of forces in foreign states is advantageous to us, then the only solution I see which avoids collision with the valid arguments of each side of this question is to make overseas duty voluntary. In that case the serviceman would be like any foreign visitor in any country—there of his own accord and taking his chances. . . .

New York City P.N.

The Fifth Amendment and Civil Courts

I have read Mr. Willmoore Kendall's review of the book, "Common Sense and the Fifth Amendment," in your issue of June 15. I am in complete agreement that the privilege against self-incrimination has been grossly abused in recent years. However, it seems to me that the argument that the use of this privilege should give rise to an inference of guilt is illogical and impractical.

The reason I believe this is that in a judicial proceeding of a criminal nature the defendant can not use this privilege once he elects to testify. In any civil court procedure the question of a witness' guilt of any crime is collateral to the issues before the tribunal.

In congressional hearings the use of this privilege has been greatly abused. I believe this use has been intended merely to obstruct the proceedings. I am in agreement that the courts have opened the way to this abuse by making the witness the sole judge of whether or not a truthful answer to a question might tend to incriminate him.

My point is, though, that many questions asked of these witnesses might tend to incriminate them of crimes widely separated from the principal area of investigation. Since the purpose of a congressional hearing is not to obtain evidence for use in court, but is to make clear the need, if any, for legislation, I believe that the use of this privilege by a witness raises sufficient inference in the minds of a committee that regulatory legislation would be useful.

Hillsboro, Ohio JAMES D. HAPNER

Mr. Weaver's Article

A friend tells me he reads NATIONAL REVIEW in an hour. I must confess I spent more than two hours on Richard M. Weaver's "Roots of the Liberal Complacency" [June 8]. But these were perhaps the most rewarding two hours I have ever spent.

Two readings of Mr. Weaver's iconoclastic treatment of the Liberals' sophistry has given me an insight into the Liberal mind that I might never have achieved by my own efforts. He has made clear to me why I have spent most of my spare time during the past quarter century opposing the encroachment of this so-called Liberalism. . . .

I find much in NATIONAL REVIEW reminiscent of a quality of writing long since sacrificed to brevity and capsule reading. . . .

Arlington, Va. CHARLES W. CARTER

A Case of Mistaken Identity

In the June 15 issue you start "For the Record" with the statement "Senator Hruska of Montana." I am happy to say and rather proud to say that Senator Hruska is from the State of Nebraska and currently serving on the subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee dealing with subversive activities. I think he is going to give a good account of himself in that job for I know how he thinks.

Omaha, Neb. J. M. HARDING

[NATIONAL REVIEW'S copy correctly identified Senator Hruska as of Nebraska. A linotyper set this as "Montana" and the error was not noticed on proof. THE EDITORS]

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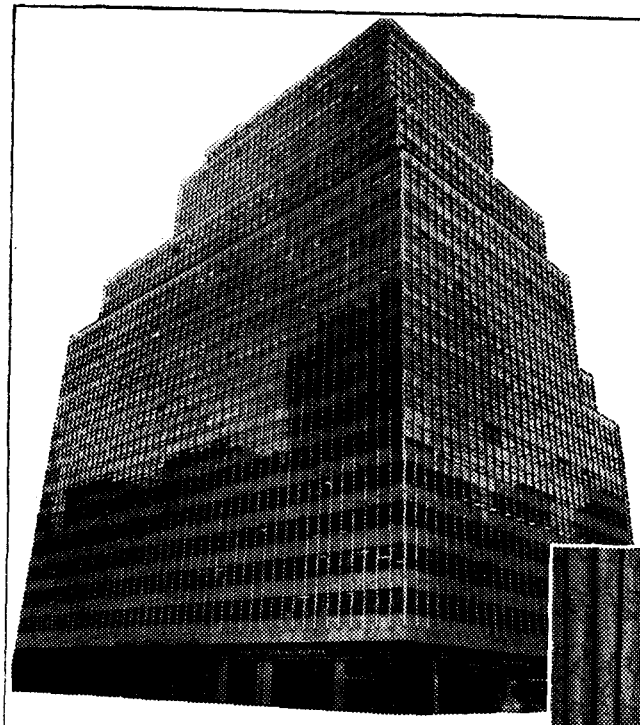

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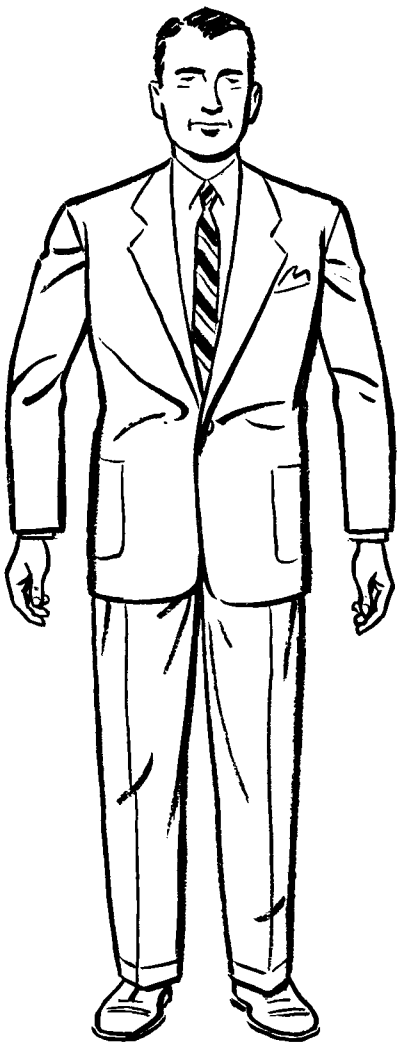

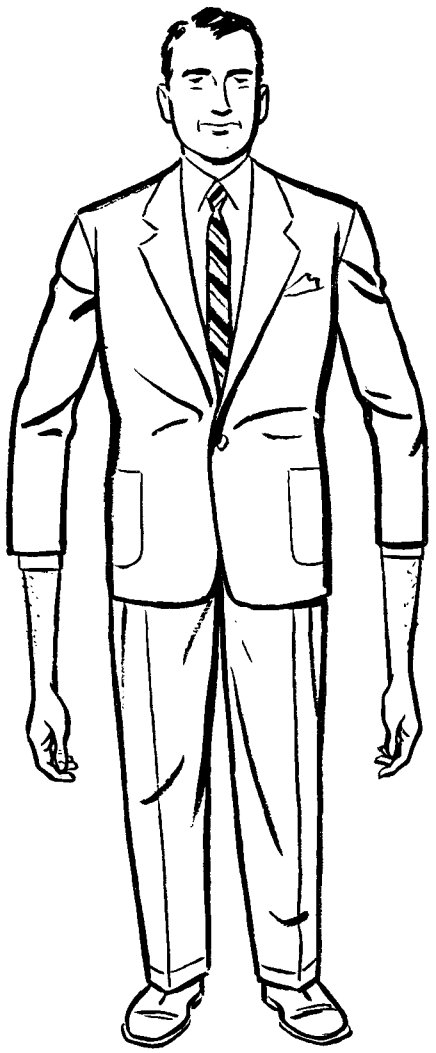

My, how his arms grew when he went to Washington!

BEFORE a man becomes a bureaucrat, he looks like anyone else. But after he gets to Washington, his arms suddenly become long enough to let him reach into every part of the country to try to take federal tax money from the pockets of people like you. You're never sure what happens to the money after that.

Sure, some of the money goes for legitimate federal functions like defense, the F.B.I., the Post Office. But, how about the part that's earmarked for local improvement? A good share of that money goes for "administration", bureaucratic salaries, red tape and paper clips.

We can put an end to a lot of this waste by taking the initiative for our own local improvements. Who's in a better position to know what needs to be done—local citizens or Washington bureaucrats? Why not let your Congressman know how you feel?

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